1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF FIGHTING MEN TO POPULATION

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Eua	123	32
Tongatabu	2742	28
Haapai	1656	28
Vavau	1600	28
Niuatoputapu	196	36
Niuafoou	366	34
All Tonga	6583	28

The only comparable material which I possess for other years is for Niuafoou Island, where in 1902 there were 334 able-bodied fighting males, who formed 28 per cent of the population.

IMMIGRATION

The Tongans have no tradition of a migration into their islands, of a Havaiki homeland, or of an overrunning of their country by foreigners except the coming of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended in 1865. Tradition refers to the country as already peopled, but pictures Ahoeitu's entry as apparently peaceful. Though there is no mention of armed invasion, there are many apparently authentic instances of peaceful penetration by foreigners. From Fiji there were two large influxes of people, from Samoa one, and from Rotuma and Tokelau minor accretions. This paper and other Tongan papers by me contain many references to foreign accretions to the Tongan population. Most of the first holders of the present matapule titles were foreigners.

From Niue, Uvea, and Futuna there seems to be no record of immigrants in heathen times, though Christian times have seen a considerable influx of Uveans (62, p. 245). Perhaps hostilities with Niue, which are mentioned in Niuean traditions, were responsible for the absence of immigrants therefrom (55, pp. 19-21). Perhaps hostilities with Futuna may likewise have interfered with immigration from that island, though we hear of the Tui Tonga (either Takalaua or Kauulufonua I) sending a governor to Futuna as well as to Rotuma and Samoa.

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Although the Tongans have no account of invasion from Uvea, the Uveans tell of an expedition against Tonga, in which 500 Uveans sailed in the fabulously large ship *Lomipeau*, under the command of the chief Tahitala. The expedition went to Mua, Tongatabu. A battle with the Tongans took place. Though none of the Uveans returned to their native land, it is not known whether the Tongans annihilated them. This Uvean tale about the *Lomipeau* differs greatly from other versions (26, p. 67), which associate the vessel with the building achievements of the Tui Tonga Ulakimata I.

The first important accretion from Fiji was led by Tui Motuliki. Motuliki (Fijian, Moturiki) is a small island off the east coast of Viti Levu. Tradition places the arrival of Tui Motuliki in the reign of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui. Tui Motuliki settled near Mt. Talau in Vavau Island and became known as the Tui Talau. Some of his followers seem to have settled in Uiha Island, Haapai, and at Niutoua, Tongatabu, where many of the inhabitants seem to have Fijian features.

The second important influx from Fiji came from the island of Lakemba, apparently in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The occasion was the marriage of Tapuosi, the Tui Lakepa (Fijian, Lakemba), to the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Their descendants constitute the modern lineage called Fale Fisi. According to Tongan informants, modern chiefly titles in Lakemba are Tui Tupou (Fijian, Tumbou), Tui Neau, and Uluilakepa, but not Tui Lakepa. The present Uluilakepa is called Finau. Tui Neau is the ranking chief. He is son of the preceding Tui Neau.

However, the influx of Fijians has not been limited to these important movements, for there has been a constant seeping in of immigrants. A story (26, p. 101) tells of the frightening away of a party of Fijians who were in a sailing boat of the *hamatefua* type. The following is a good example of modern Fijian emigration to Tonga:

> Moses Tama, of Hihifo, Lifuka, a man of about 70 (in 1920), was born in Lakemba. At the age of 11 he was sent by his father to Tonga with the Tongan chief Paleiono of Lifuka and has been once back to Lakemba. The father of Moses was a matapule in Lakemba, but Moses is not. Finau Uluilakeba, a chief in Lakemba, is a paternal cousin (*tokoua*) of Moses and the head of Moses' lineage, for which he knows no name. Moses' only child, a daughter, now dead, was a commoner (*matafefine*). The wife of Moses is Keasi (said to be a Samoan name). She was born in Lifuka where her parents belonged. Vuetasau, the father of Moses, had been to Tonga with King George I. He and Paleiono returned to Fiji together, then Moses was born. Moses was called *tama i Paleiono*, child of Paleiono, because his father intended to give him to Paleiono to adopt. Moses called Paleiono father. Paleiono called Moses son and gave him the tract Haa Lakovaka, in Lifuka.

George Fisilau, of Okoa, Vavau group, who acts as matapule to Afu Haa Mango, is of part Fijian ancestry, a forefather hailing from Lau, as the name implies.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

The principal immigration from Samoa apparently took place just before the establishment of Ngata as the first Tui Kanokupolu, probably in the latter half of the sixteenth century. There have been considerable influxes of Samoans both before and since. Krämer (36) cites migrations from the time of the twelfth Tui Tonga on. (See, for instance, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 468.)

Concerning immigrants from the Cook Islands, Tongan sources are silent except for some Mangaians (25, p. 154) in Christian times. Dillon (20, vol. 1, p. 271) mentions five castaways from Aitutaki.

There is said to be a considerable number of people of Rotuman descent in Tongatabu. According to the following tale the title of Maafu Tukuiaulahi was held for a time by a Rotuman and, presumably, his descendants:

> One day Maafu of Vaini dug a big hole after a rat. As he went down he saw eight rat tails. Maafu then looked up and saw a little boy at the top of the hole. He adopted the boy and named him Ikuvalu (Eight Tails). The boy was from Rotuma. After Maafu died, the boy became Maafu. This is why the descendants of Maafu are called the Kau Lotuma. The descendants of Ikuvalu are no longer Maafu, however. The present holder is of the old Maafu line.

Even Tahitians may have been absorbed into the Tongan population, for Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 313) saw at Mua, the carved head of a Tahitian vessel which had been driven ashore.

EMIGRATION

The Tongans extended their influence to other islands. They had established their sovereignty in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Uvea, for tribute mainly—but many of the Tongans seem to have married Samoans, and even the Tui Tonga had official residences on Upolu and Savaii. Presumably no Tui Tonga resided in Samoa after the expulsion of Talakaifaiki (about 1250). However, in 1616 Schouten and Lemaire (65, p. lviii) encountered in Futuna "a person bearing the title of Latoo, and by another styled Areekee, who was probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands." This person was probably the Tui Tonga's viceroy or tribute collector. As late as 1824, Rotuma was still paying tribute to Tonga, for Dillon (20, vol. 1, p. 295) relates:

> On my old friend, Tuckcafinawa [Fakafanua], the high priest and chief of Mafanga, hearing mention made of Rothuma, inquired if I intended to call there: to which I replied in the affirmative. He then informed me that the priests of that island were tributary to his district, and that about three years ago he sent his eldest son with three large canoes to collect the tribute, from whence he had not since returned; that he was fearful he and his men had offended the gods and were cast away at sea, either going to or returning from Rothuma.

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Modern Tongan tradition refers the origin of the name Haamoa (Samoa) to a war between Tonga and Samoa, which Tonga won. After that the name Hamoa was applied, because when asked how the war was going, the soldiers replied, "Hamoa," meaning "to kill chickens," thus derisively referring to the defeated Samoans. I regard this merely as a folk etymology.

That Niue had also come under Tongan dominion is recounted by Ella (22, p. 231), who, after referring to the Tongan defeat by the Samoans, writes:

> A similar Tongan defeat is given by the Niue Islanders, accounting for their deliverance from Tongan domination, also effected by a stratagem which issued in the destruction of the Tongans.
>
> In the Ellice and Gilbert groups there are remarkable histories of Tongan tyranny endured by those simple people. Even in Fiji the Tongan power was felt and dreaded.

A trader in the Ellice Islands, Captain Allen, informed me that the modern population of Nukufetau Island is Tongan in origin, and that Reynolds Island is Samoan. Some Ellice Island place names are Tongan, such as Nukufetau and Niutao.

The frequency of Tongan visits to the windward islands of Fiji and the presence of Tongan blood in the population is dwelt upon by Hocart (32).

That Tongans settled in the Cook Islands seems probable on the evidence presented by Gill (28, pp. 167, 287, 288). The inhabitants of Tikopia (Tucopia, or Barwell Island, Santa Cruz Islands) are probably the descendants of Tongan castaways, according to Rivers (51, vol. 1, pp. 298-362); and Thomson (56, p. 15) affirms that the inhabitants of Cngtong Java, are descendants of Tongans. Shipwreck is doubtless the cause of some dissemination.

THE FAMILY

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

No undoubted word for family was obtained. The word *kainga* (relatives) seems to be the nearest approach inasmuch as it is bilateral in application. Modern Tongans use the English word "family" in the form *famili*, and sometimes the Tongan word *faahinga*. The word *fale* (house) is used of the Tui Tonga's family, including all his wives and children. As do Europeans, the Tongans conceive of a family both as a small household group and as an enlarged group comprising collateral relatives both through the father and the mother.

The Tongan household seems anciently to have consisted of a man, his wife, and their offspring, together with any adopted children. Through polygamy the household might be considerably augmented. The establish-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his matapule arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motuliki his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the matapule who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exercised in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter (*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin, were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

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The inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by conquerors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men possessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* (*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping chamber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a*, *b*, *c*, were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, *d*. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should

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(*tehina*). J. Langoia Vahai was chief in 1862. I. Vahai died August 14, 1900. An earlier Vahai bore the personal name of Toloaatonga.

Valu, chief of Utulau, Tongatabu.

Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, resident at Fahefa, Tongatabu. The first Veehala was the son of Leilua (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and of Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee). Punou Veehala was chief in 1862. Shadrach Veehala (son of Ata), died March 26, 1893.

Veikune, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. The name Veikune was made a title by King George II as a reward to Jiosateki Veikune, premier of Tonga from 1893 till 1904. The holder of the title in 1921 was the Governor of Vavau. Osaiasi Tonga Veikune died January 3, 1867. Jiosateki Veikune died October 17, 1913.

Vunivalu, the first Vunivalu mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies bore the personal name Matausioehau, and was the son of a Tongan woman named Kalaepulevalu and a Fijian named Ate. He was succeeded by his son Uaisele (Wesley?) Fifita, and Fifita was succeeded as Vunivalu by his son Maafu, and Maafu was succeeded by his son Tupou. Hocart (32) derives the Tongan Vunivalu from Lakemba.

MATAPULES

The matapules (called by some writers petty chiefs) are, strictly speaking, the titled ceremonial attendants of titled chiefs as distinguished from attendants in general (*takanga*). But like *eiki* (chief), the word matapule has been extended in application to include all persons who are of matapule rank by virtue of their blood, regardless of whether they hold titles or not. Only one person in a family at one time holds a matapule title. Only a titled chief may have a titled matapule. Kava can be presented ceremonially only by a matapule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only through a matapule.

Some of the duties of the matapule are described in the sections "The court of the Tui Tonga" (pp. 63-71) and "Kava drinking" (pp. 156-168).

Like the titled chief, the titled matapule is the representative of the first title bearer or ancestor. As a rule he serves the titled chief whose ancestor his ancestor served. There is a very considerable range in the power and influence of matapules, their positions being correlated largely with the power and influence of the chiefs they serve. Thus to-day Lauaki and Motuapuaka are by far the greatest of the matapules, for they serve the sovereign Tui Kanokupolu. On the other hand the present matapules of the Tui Tonga exercise no such power and influence as did their predecessors in the days when the Tui Tonga was flourishing.

The matapules are related to both chiefs and commoners. The ancestor of Lauaki is reputed to have descended from the sky with his brother Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, but most other matapule titles are traced to the advent of some foreigner from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. Just what significance is to be attached to the absence of matapules from Niue and Futuna, I do not know. Their absence from Uvea, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafoou is no doubt connected with the feeling that the inhabitants of those islands are Ton-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

gans, not foreigners. This foreign origin does not militate against relationship with the modern chiefs and commoners of Tonga. The matapules have become thoroughly amalgamated with the population through intermarriage.

The reason assigned for the employment of foreigners as matapules is that they are exempt from the tapu which separate a Tongan chief and his purely Tongan relatives. Thus Hoakai (Soakai), a matapule to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do.

Unlike commoners, few matapules were killed by chiefs for offenses. Furthermore, a matapule might leave a chief and go to another for greater reward, though returning to the first chief incurred death. Tongan commoners might be raised to what was virtually matapule rank by being given titles for prowess in war, industry in agriculture, or success in fishing.

The three great influxes of matapules are traditionally connected with the entry into Tonga of three persons of high rank. From Fiji in the reign of Tuitatui, came Tui Motuliki (afterwards called Tui Talau), the putative supernatural child of the two Maui (Atalanga and Kisikisi). With him came other Fijians who became matapules of the Tui Tonga. Tui Motuliki and his followers were warmly welcomed (50, pp. 140-142). Quite likely later, and probably about 1600, a great influx of Samoans was signalized by the marriage of the Samoan lady Tohuia to the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. A little later came Tapuosi, the Fijian Tui Lakepa, with a following of chiefs and matapules. (See Hocart, 32.) In addition to these three important accretions there was doubtless an intermittent dribbling in of foreigners. (See list p. 504.)

Of particular interest is the matapule Kama (Samoan, Ama). He is a descendant of that Ama who was the father of Tohuia, the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata. The present matapule Kama, is addressed as grandfather by all of the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu, because Ama of Safata, Samoa, was the grandfather of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu. The chief Ama of Samoa came first to Tonga, perhaps near the end of the Sixteenth Century, and was followed by his daughter Tohuia, who became the mother of Ngata. The present Kama does not know whether Ama the chief remained in Tonga or returned to Samoa; nor does he know how the Tongan Kama became matapule, but thinks it was because they were foreigners. Kama and his son visited the predecessor of the present Ama in Samoa in 1894. Ama was much annoyed that his relatives in Tonga ranked only as matapule, and told them that they were the descendants of the elder of two brothers, while the Samoan Ama were the descendants of the younger brother. For that reason the visiting Kama was given the chief's kava while in Samoa. The Kama in Tonga have always been appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaitaiki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 565 173 167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.) 565 624 123 554

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the matapule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social position of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced. 276 553 428 554

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were used by chiefs only. 565 624 623 516 537

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother). 565 624 428

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niuatoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano. 565 624 551

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*. 502

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

more cava root to be prepared,—on a sudden he pronounced aloud the word *boogi* (hold or arrest). Instantly all the chiefs and warriors that had been particularly active against him in the late war were seized by men previously appointed: their hands were tied fast behind them; and they were taken down to the beach, where, with the club, several were immediately dispatched; and the remainder were reserved till the afternoon, for what is considered a more signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea, and sunk in old leaky canoes. This transaction seemed to show how little was to be trusted to the honour of Finow, and how well founded were the suspicions of those Vavaoo chiefs, who had said that no reliance was to be placed in him; and that there was little doubt but that he would take an early opportunity of exercising his revenge: *they* therefore acted a wise part, who, as soon as the peace was concluded, fled at the earliest opportunity, some to the island of Tonga, others to the Fiji islands. It must, however, be acknowledged that Finow had received information of a conspiracy which these chiefs were designing against him; and if this be true, his conduct was certainly less reproachable*. Finow being apprehensive

* It must be remarked that their innocence was never positively asserted; nobody supposed that they had actually

A [Finow--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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128 Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions in the order in which they happened, and conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

669 724 649 [724] The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga, which Finow besieged with the four carronades, and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it, with such of his followers as could save themselves, and fled up the country, to seek refuge in some other fortress. This chief had all along been unfortunate: at the time of the great revolution of Tonga, and the early success of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with his followers, and had resided there some time; gaining experience in the art of war. On his return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa; from which he was afterwards driven by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge in some other fortress; from which, owing to the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause, he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a third; from whence he was driven by some untoward circumstance; and thus he became, in fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

[167] [177] [166]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

few Europeans present were ignorant of Tongan, we have only native accounts of the proceedings to rely upon. Several men were condemned to death, including the actual perpetrators of the crime, and four, one of whom was more than probably innocent, were taken to Malinoa island and summarily shot. Others would have followed had not the Europeans interfered and threatened Mr Baker personally, and during the delay thus secured H.M.S. Diamond arrived with the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, from Fiji.

Mr Baker had affected from the first to regard the attack upon him as a conspiracy of the Wesleyans, and sought to connect the missionary, and even the English Vice-Consul, with the crime. It was an opportunity for wiping out the remnant of the Wesleyan Church. On the pretence that there was an insurrection against the king's authority in Tongatabu, he summoned the men of Haapai and Vavau to come and restore order. They came with all the savage ruffianism in them aroused by the remembrance that Tongatabu was their ancient enemy. Armed, and with blackened faces, they spread over the country, plundering the houses of the Wesleyans, flogging and insulting all who refused to join the Free Church. The remnant of those who still held out, some two hundred souls, were huddled on board two small schooners, and shipped off to Fiji. They were thus thrust destitute upon the Government of that colony, which was put to no small inconvenience and expense in providing for them. Eventually they were settled on the fertile island of Koro, dissatisfied, and in continual disagreement with their Fijian neighbours. It was their sudden arrival that

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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caused the High Commissioner to visit Tonga. The exhaustive judicial inquiry which he held furnished ample grounds for the removal of Mr Baker under the Order in Council which empowers the High Commissioner to remove any British subject who, in his opinion, is dangerous to the peace and good order of the island in which he is living. But since Mr Baker, in fact, constituted in himself the Tongan Government, it was not clear that his removal would not be followed by anarchy; and as the king undertook to put a stop to the persecution of the Wesleyans, and to adopt certain other reforms, Sir Charles Mitchell preferred allowing them to be effected through Mr Baker's agency to incurring the risk of the chaos that might result from his removal. The ship of war therefore sailed for Fiji, taking with her the rest of the prisoners lying under sentence of death.

Now Mr Baker had expected to be removed, and he attributed this leniency to a different motive. He argued, doubtless, that if the High Commissioner had failed to remove him after the wholesale persecution of the Wesleyans and other illegalities, it was because he was afraid to do so, and that he was not likely to take extreme action against him for any lesser cause. So long, therefore, as he restrained himself within certain limits, he might continue his former policy without let or hindrance. The king, who had so often been his scapegoat, could be made to bear the sole blame of breaking the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell. So the promises were not fulfilled, and things went on very much as before, except that the annoyances to which the Wesleyans were subjected were a little less flagrant. Not content with having escaped

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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failed, I alone must take the blame. The blame of failing in such a service would probably dog me for the rest of my official career. 648

On the other hand, I might have the luck to succeed, and the experience was certain to be amusing. On the whole it seemed worth the risk. The High Commissioner was still telling me his proposals when my mind was made up.

The plans were soon arranged. I was to go to Tonga in the steamer chartered to take back the Wesleyan exiles. I was not to be hampered by a detailed letter of instructions, but, furnished with a mere outline of the policy to be pursued, I was to present myself to the king, and thereafter be left with a free hand, to be guided by circumstances as to my future course.

Meanwhile the exiles had been sent for from the island of Koro, and on their arrival they were assembled to hear from the High Commissioner the steps that were to be taken on their behalf. They were, he said, to go back to their homes after three years of exile, which they had borne with praiseworthy fortitude. They were not sent back by the British Government: they were invited to return by their own king, to whom alone they owed allegiance. They were not to think that because they had been exiled for wishing to continue in their Church, this invitation implied that their Church had triumphed. If they adopted a triumphant attitude in Tonga, or tried to push forward the cause of their Church, disturbances would be quite certain to follow, and they would be in a worse plight than before. Any such conduct on their part would be a poor return to the British Government 798 167 [643] [648] 798 795 798 167 648

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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798 167 648 who had befriended them, and whose one desire was to see Tonga at peace. They were especially to understand that the late events had come about from a true desire to help the king, and not from any ulterior object of extending British influence. Foolish things were often said in Tonga, and the most foolish of all was that England wished to take the country for her own. Victoria was not a "stealing Queen," and wanted no country that belonged to others. She and her officers were now, as ever, ready to endorse the proverb, "*Tonga maa Tonga*" (Tonga for the Tongans), and it was their duty, whenever they heard this foolish statement made, to contradict it.

Then William Maealiuaki replied on behalf of the exiles. He began with a long and very wearisome list of the presents given to them by the Fijian chiefs, and finished with a flowery oration of thanks. Charlotte, the king's daughter, an old woman of past sixty, had called upon Lady Thurston with her women, and had presented an immense roll of native cloth, which, she explained, had been brought to Fiji to serve as her shroud, but since God had allowed her to see her native country again and would let her die there, she wished to leave the shroud behind her.

798 167 On August 16th the steamer Pukaki hauled into the wharf to receive her passengers. Counting children, the exiles numbered more than 120 souls. It was a curious scene. Half the population of Suva had assembled to see them off, including the High Commissioner and the Government officials, and the wharf was crowded. Their native [152] friends were weeping demonstratively, and the Tongans themselves were in a state of high emotion. The steamer,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing "Home, Sweet Home," in their own language, taking well-sustained parts; and they continued singing until we passed through the white line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.

One of the Exiles.

Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually resolving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the reef islets, until some houses showed white against the thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sun-

Nukualofa.

light every colour was intense—the blue of the sea, the white of the foam and coral-sand, and the green of the vegetation.

From the moment when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles, presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste, for as we neared the shore they began nervously to tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments, stopping at times to inspect their progress towards disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commissioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had not been lost upon them.

We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

excited missionaries dashed up the ladder and fell upon their flock. It was a demonstration that might well have been spared, for the wharf was now filling with people, and it was the interest of the mission, as well as of the exiles, that they should return as the king's subjects, and not as members of a Church of which he disapproved. Meanwhile the chief men among the exiles, William Macaliuaki and Matealona, landed to report themselves to Tukuaho, the Premier, and we pulled to the wharf and landed among the crowd of sight-seers. I tried in vain to detect any enthusiasm, but, with the exception of the near relations of the exiles, who could be distinguished from the others by their eager questioning of the native crew of our boat, the people, who numbered perhaps 150, seemed to have come from mere motives of curiosity. Mrs S., the daughter of one of the missionaries, explained the absence of demonstration by saying that we had been expected on the previous Sunday, when large numbers had awaited our arrival; but this explanation scarcely accounted for the absence of the townspeople, who had had fully two hours' notice of the arrival of the steamer. The people assembled were scarcely more than would have come to see the arrival of the ordinary monthly steamer. Mrs S. went on to say that affairs were less satisfactory than had been hoped. The king had gone away to Haapai to finish the building of a church. There had been a free fight between the lads of the Government and the Wesleyan colleges. The Collector of Customs had had a difference with the Premier about a copra contract, and, to the great inconvenience of the public, had closed the Customs office for a whole day as a protest. Moreover, "certain

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1394
OU9 Tonga OU9

upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and the opposition had to be silenced.

I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception the exiles had really had, for rumours were most conflicting. From his account it appeared that while they had received no welcome from the people at large, this had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes. They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the house, saw a long train of men and women approaching with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji. It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs, rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

Our new house adjoined the Government College, being in reality the house of the English principal when such an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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form the *moëmoë*[1] by embracing her feet when they left her.

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure built of the high estimation in which women were held upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga—lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from

[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moëmoë* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised. A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence. The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting expeditions. 175 669 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafulimuloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa. 175 669 643 [167] [712]

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au-Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel.[A] 175 669 669 [727]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- 175 669 725 [713]

[A] /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1852]

king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and their property was dragged out of their burning houses. Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket and the club, was again triumphant.

In the following November the long-expected help from Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to investigate the charges brought by the priests and the captain of a French whaler; and the French commander, while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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arms, and return to Tonga as an invader. The only safeguard against this was to set a chief over them who would find an outlet for their restless energy in Fiji itself. Fiji would be, moreover, a vent for the disaffection of a number of his own subjects, who would be glad enough to become exiles with the brilliant prospect of conquest and booty before them. The man lay ready to hand. Maafu, the son of his predecessor, had all the qualities for a leader of such an expedition. He had, besides, a strong claim to the succession, and would be made the figurehead of any rebellion that might be launched against the throne by the heathen party. An expedition was soon fitted out, and early in 1848 Maafu, at the head of a strong and numerous following, set sail for Lakemba. During the next five years he fought his way into the supremacy of the whole of the Lau group, wresting the power from the hands of Tui Nayau, and vesting the lands in his principal followers. Maafu, accustomed to the Tongan system of land tenure, did for Fiji what the British Government has never had the courage to do. He cut the Gordian knot of boundary disputes by dividing out the communal lands into small individual holdings, and securing them to the grantees with a strong hand. He did not, moreover, allow his Fijian subjects to alienate an inch of land to Europeans except on lease. He was a student of history. Asked by what right he divided the lands of the Fijians, he replied sardonically, "I am King William—William the Conqueror!" Having established settled government upon the Tongan model, he turned his eyes westward, and threatened the powerful chieftaincies of Bau, Thakaundrove, and Mathuata. The cession

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish as the first food after weaning. The change in this system of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety in appearances. In some respects, however, they share with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy. 585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied 186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a 167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu- 829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians, a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of 186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling 829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting 648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD.
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THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protectorate, lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east of Fiji. The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day.

There is no European colonization in progress, for foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen.

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian conqueror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan.

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding.

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legislative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen

* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Uvea. As the whole transaction was a singular one, and highly illustrative of South Sea life, we may state the particulars.

One of the captains, a young man, and owner of both the brigs, had become acquainted with the Uveans during the time of the war, and had managed to marry Boöi's daughter. He thus became fully aware of the unsettled state of Boöi and his people, and of their anxiety to remove from Uvea altogether. According to the captain's statement, he had discovered and taken possession, in the name of the United States Government, of an island near the equator, called Fanning's Island, abounding with cocoa-nuts, but without inhabitants. He therefore agreed with Boöi to take him and his people thither; making Boöi king of the island, and giving him an interest in the speculation. The Uveans were to plant yams, or other kinds of produce, and, above all, to make plenty of cocoa-nut oil. But the Uveans agreed with him to call first at Vavau, in the Friendly Islands, under the pretence of leaving the aged and infirm there, until at least the first crop had been produced on the newly found island; lest, as they said, provisions should run short. Accordingly, some five hundred Uveans, men, women, and children, shipped on board the two vessels; and, having consented to the proposal to visit Vavau, the captain bore away thither, where he arrived, after a tedious voyage of thirteen days. The ships were soon vacated by the vast company; and, to his extreme mortification, the poor captain found that not one of them would proceed a step further, to visit or populate the American island. Either Boöi had arranged the whole bargain as a clever but wicked *ruse*, by

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

167 which to reach the Friendly Islands; or else, if the bargain were in the first instance a *bonâ fide* one, the temptation to remain in Vavau was too strong, and far outweighed his regard, or that of the people, for the Yankee scheme of colonization. The case was carried by the duped captain to the judges and Missionaries. But what could they do? There was no written agreement, and the Uveans had, of course, their version of the affair to set off against that of the captain. They declared that the only agreement was that he should take them to their friends in Vavau; that he had enticed them on board with that promise, but with the real and secret intention of carrying them off to the desolate island for his own purposes. It would be hard to say with whom the truth lay. The probability is that both parties tried to over-reach each other. In either case it was by no means a creditable transaction. Nor did the Uveans move away under the constraint of famine or war at the time. They were then at peace, and had abundance of food. In judging, however, of the whole case, the previous wars and sufferings of several years must not be forgotten. The immediate effect of this strange immigration was, as a matter of course, the abandonment of Uvea as a scene of Protestant Missionary operations; while the fact that out of the total number brought to Vavau, about two hundred were professed Romanists, gave serious cause of alarm, lest their coming might lead to the arrival and settlement of the priests, to look after their runaway flock. This latter fear, however, proved groundless; inasmuch as nearly the whole number renounced Popery before many months had passed away.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

During their continued residence in Vavau, great numbers of the Uveans died. They seemed very susceptible to the influence of any contagious disease. Probably the great hardships many of them had endured, together with the depressing thought that they were strangers in a strange land, predisposed them to sickness, and made them more easily sink under it when seized. No doubt the remnant of the people will ultimately return to their own land; and we may hope that the mission of Protestantism has not yet been finally disposed of. Since the event we have narrated took place, Uvea has been made the head-quarters of a Romish Polynesian Bishopric, and from thence its emissaries have been sent forth, to various parts of the Pacific, in the wake of Protestant pioneers. Let us trust that this shall only be for a time, and that the light and comfort of a purer faith will yet bless the poor deluded Uveans.*

With these reminiscences we must now take farewell of Vavau and its adjacent northerly islands: and, before carrying our readers to the island of Tongatabu in the south, where the next four years of our life were spent amongst a mixed population of Christians and heathens, we must briefly allude to the mythology and customs of the latter, so that our readers may be better able to form an estimate of what had already been accomplished by the Gospel, in the course of twenty-two years, and to appreciate to the full extent the still greater, because complete, triumph shortly to be witnessed.

* Since the above was written, a proposal has been made to resume the Uvean Mission, by the Wesleyan Conference of Australasia; but whether this is owing to the return of the expatriated chiefs and people, the writer is not aware.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel. In this incident, we have another example of the causes that have been in operation, leading to the dissemination of the Polynesian race and language throughout the Pacific.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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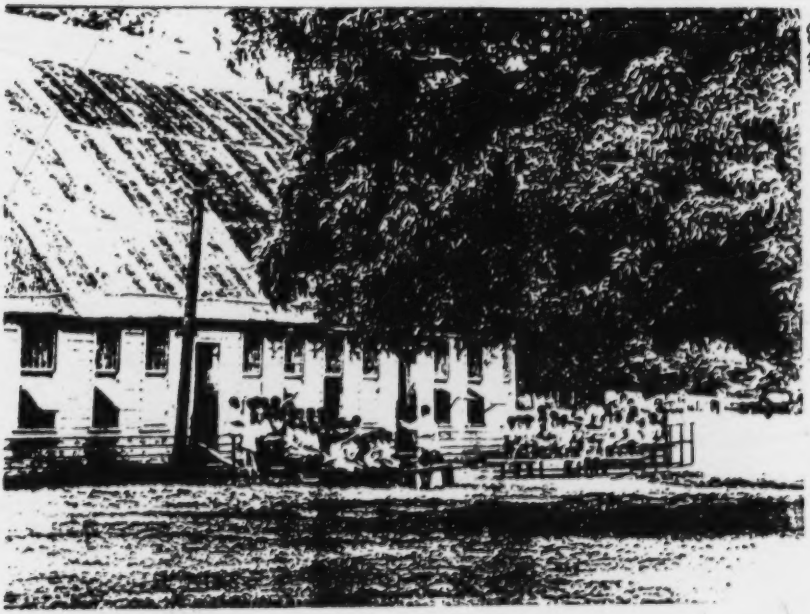

Education in Tonga, which is provided mainly by government and church schools, is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14. The Tongans generally value education highly, however, and want their children to study beyond the primary level. But meanwhile, there is a serious problem arising: more and more people are being educated for a relatively few white-collar jobs. Such a trend, which is precipitating an undercurrent of discontent and appreciable migration ("brain-drain") to more industrialized countries, must be coped with. By placing more emphasis on vocational training (especially in agriculture), and by pursuing the development of economic interests within Tonga, the kingdom could enable her people to play a productive, satisfying role in the future of their country. Photo above shows some students of Nuku'alofa Wesleyan Primary School having an outdoor lesson.

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[17]

Kuo pau ke akó e Tonga kotoa mei he ta'u 6 ki he ta'u 14. Ka 'oku meimei lotó e matu'a kotoa ia ke ako 'enau fanau ki he ngata'angá'o honau ivi. Ko e me'a mahu'inga foki e ako, ka kuo kamata eni ke ha mai ha palopalema 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku fa'a hoko pe 'i he ngaahi fonua kuo lahi 'enau ako faka'atamai. Kuo lahi 'aupito e fa'ahinga kuo nau ma'u ha tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga 'o hange ko e ma'u mata'itohi, ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e ngaue fe'unga mo kinautolu 'i Tonga. Ko ia ai kuo faka'au ke 'alu atu ki muli ha fa'ahinga e ni'ihi na'e lelei angas 'enau ako. Koe'uhi 'oku ma'u mo'ui e tokolahi mei he kelekele pea mo tahi, 'oku totonu ke fakalahi ange 'a e ngaahi feinga ako ki he ngoue pea mo e toutai foki, kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi ako ngaue kelekele 'o hange ko e tufunga. Ko e ngaahi tefa'aki fakaako ia e 'aonga lahi taha ki Tonga 'i he ngaahi 'aho ni, pea mo e kaha'u vave taha. Ko e ta eni 'o e kalasi 'a e Ako Teu 'a e Siasi Uesiliana 'i Nuku'alofa.

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are trained in a wide range of academic and technical subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church, both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example, do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the material burdens and social obligations of congregational feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed, it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

873 of Tongan children are leaving school with no prospects of either secondary
874 schooling or vocational training. State schools have no likelihood of introducing vocational training under the present budget allocations and places in secondary schools are few. In 1968, a total of 2,400 pupils sat the Tonga High School (Government) examination with only 55 places available.[17] Even in secondary schools there is little education for specific careers; the 1967 Report of the Department of Education estimated that only 8% of a secondary school pupils were receiving vocational training.

674 The Annual Report of the Police Department for 1967 shows that the number of reported crimes had increased by 21.0% over the previous year and that 52.0% of those convicted on criminal charges were between
625 the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. The proposed scheme to reinforce the police force and build a new jail and police headquarters will probably do little to alleviate this problem.

648 The United States Government has allocated an annual quota of one
167 hundred immigrants to Tonga; this scheme is fully booked for the next three years. Small Tongan communities exist in Samoa, New Hebrides, Australia and New Zealand, but to New Zealand at least no regular emigration is permitted.

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79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

that the agreement and contract should be made between the employer and the recruits and 'be lodged in the Government Offices, stating the amount of payment they shall receive, the time they shall work for him, and promising to take them back to their own land', and that the government would see that this contract was carried out. It specifically excluded any Chinese from being brought to Tonga, on the grounds that they might bring leprosy as 'exists in the Sandwich Islands', but there seems little doubt that this provision was heavily influenced by the anti-Chinese sentiments current in Australia and elsewhere at this time (Clause 3).

The second section dealing with the Form of Government also closely followed the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852. It declared that the form of government was to be a constitutional monarchy and that the supreme power of the kingdom was divided between the Executive, consisting of the King, Privy Council and Cabinet; the Legislative Assembly; and the Judiciary.

The prerogatives of the King were clearly set forth and the rules of succession were laid down (Clause 35). The King was Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, but he could not declare war without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. With the consent of the Privy Council, he had power to grant pardon to convicts except in cases of impeachment, and to convene the Legislative Assembly. If he were displeased with it, he could dissolve it and command new representatives to be chosen, but he could not lawfully dismiss any of the nobles of the Legislative Assembly, except in cases of treason. He was entitled to make treaties with foreign nations, but again could do so only with the consent of the Legislative Assembly, and he could appoint ambassadors.

The person of the King was declared sacred. He governed the land, and all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly had to receive his signature before they became law. He had the prerogative of bestowing all titles of honour, but he could not lawfully take away any title except in cases of treason. With the advice of his cabinet, he had the prerogative of arranging what money should be legal tender in the kingdom. Finally, he had power to proclaim martial law for any part of the land, or for

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 0U9 Tonga 0U9

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally. As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase.

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants.

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000.

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent.

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000.

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people.

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand.

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births.

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05.

178 After the supplementary Treaty of Friendship with Great
241 Britain in 1905, the mercantile functions of the traders
654 were reduced gradually and the Tongan government, with
[177] British guidance, assumed greater responsibility for
[647] economic and agricultural activities. Major moves to "Tonganize" or localize the commercial agricultural economy included: the appointment of an agricultural advisor in 1901 and a Director of Agriculture in 1939 (Maude, 1965:43-44); the formation of the Tonga Copra Board in 1942; and the formation of the Tonga Banana Board (now the Tonga Produce Board) in 1949.

177 The Tongan culture was strongly affected by the Second
[368] World War when Tongatapu became a staging area for shipping wartime supplies. Roads, wharves, a railroad, and the present airport at Pua'amotu were constructed. Of even greater consequence, the Tongan people received additional exposure to the workings of the cash economy as well as an introduction to an almost entirely new set of values, which differed radically from those of the missionaries and the elitist colonial administrators.

177 There continues to be a steady stream of temporary non-
167 Tongan administrators, teachers, technical experts and volunteers primarily from Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and, more recently, the United States of America, who continue to have an effect on the Tongan culture in spite of the current wave of Pacific Island nationalism and search for self-identity.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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another time Tuku'aho condemned a woman to be sawn asunder lengthwise after she fell under his displeasure. Such acts were bound to provoke reaction. In the Civil War that soon ensued the barbaric practices that young Tongans had found in Fiji were repeated in their own country, with gross disregard for the nobler principles of Tongan society.

For centuries there had been intercourse between Tonga and the islands of Lau, the eastern group of Fiji. Many Tongans chose to live there. Other parts of Fiji were visited by the Tongans who traded for the sandalwood of Macuata and the coveted red feathers of Kadavu parrots. The Fijians were renowned canoe-builders and they had the timber needed for this work. The making of large canoes occupied from five to seven years and Tongans who came for these often stayed in Fiji for that period. In the latter part of the 19th Century also young Tongans went to study Fijian methods of warfare and the fortifications they used.

> "Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty wars, to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains." (3)

The historian of Fiji, R. A. Derrick, has vividly described the experiences of young Tongans in Fiji in this period:

> "The young bloods of Tonga who thirsted for excitement and renown went to Fiji where there were alarums and excursions in plenty, war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts, and freedom from the restraints of their elders. The islands of Eastern Fiji were to the Tongan warriors what the fields of France were to the knights and esquires of Plantaganet England. The Tongan youth had only to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place himself in the way of gaining honour and fame to satisfy the most ambitious." (4)

Fiji had long been notorious for savage fighting and also for its disunity. Tonga now adopted the same pattern of internecine strife. For a time the authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu hardly existed. Had such rebellions and disorder continued, and had Taufa'ahau (the future George Tupou I) not appeared as the leader of Tonga, the nation would probably have lost its independence eventually as Fiji did for similar reasons.

That Tuku'aho met a rival chief of equally savage disposition was not only a misfortune for him; it was a calamity for the whole country. Finau 'Ulukalala II, son of Cook's host, showed ambition and ferocity that matched Tuku'aho's. The nation paid a woeful penalty in the Civil War for the rivalry of these unprincipled leaders.

Tuku'aho was treacherously murdered on 21 April 1799, after being Tu'i Kanokupolu for barely two years. Chiefs and people from all parts of Tonga had gathered in the ancient capital, Mu'a, for the presentation of tribute to the Tu'i Tonga. This was expected to be a time of peace with the sanctions of the religious festival. The arch-conspirators, Finau 'Ulukalala and his half-brother, Tupouniua, had a large body of men ready to carry out their designs against Tuku'aho. Immediately after the festival ended the two chiefs crept under cover of darkness into the house of the sleeping Tu'i Kanokupolu, guided by the smell of his sandalwood oil. After Tupouniua clubbed Tuku'aho to death Finau's men rushed in and killed the king's wives and other occupants of the dwelling.

The Civil War broke out as a campaign of revenge on the part of the royalists, the men of Hihifo, who were enraged by the murder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu whose residence was in their district. The Hihifo army fought not

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Baker's influence with the king had grown but his intimate concern with all Government affairs had brought him unpopularity in many quarters. The sumptuary and social laws for which Baker was partly responsible were vexatious to the Tongans and a cause of criticism and even ridicule from European visitors and British officials in Fiji. Some of the sumptuary laws undoubtedly proved profitable for the Government's coffers and also for the traders. There seemed to be no good reason, for example, to prohibit the making of native cloth *(ngatu)* except on one day weekly, unless it was to encourage the purchase of European clothing. Baker gave a strange argument in his letter to Chapman (3 May 1876); he said that the king wanted to do away with native clothing and he himself supported this policy on the ground that

> "the natives will never use their land as long as they are allowed to use native clothing. I believe it breeds disease, engenders laziness, and costs more than good stout calico would cost." (53)

Rigid missionary feelings concerning decency may have influenced the laws which inflicted a fine of $10 for a man not wearing a shirt in public and a fine of $2 for a woman without a "pinafore" in her home or $3 for the same offence outside her home. Smoking in the case of women was met with a fine of $2.50 with costs $1.50. Apart from the trivial nature of all these offences, the fines inflicted were preposterous and oppressive in a poor community.(54) Fines for sexual offences were particularly heavy. Some Tongans went to eastern Fiji, to escape these harassing laws; this gave rise to the remark of Lorimer Fison, missionary in Fiji, "The baker there is making his laws too crusty".(55) The most extraordinary example was Niua Fo'ou, with a population of under 2,000, and a record of $8,350 fines, including $4,613 for sexual offences, between March 1877 and July 1878.(56)

Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, first Governor of Fiji in 1874, frequently entered the scene in Tonga when he became High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Gordon was soon critical of Baker because of his intrusion into politics and, especially, his pro-German policy. Gordon was an experienced colonial administrator, with a background of British culture and High Anglicanism, but he was always disposed to uphold the interests of indigenous Pacific peoples. He gave full recognition to the value of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji although he evinced some disdain towards the missionaries themselves. This superior attitude was still more marked when he was dealing with an ill-educated and aggressive missionary-politician in Shirley Baker.

Gordon, after his visit to Tonga in 1878, stated —

> "I am informed that nearly 90% of the population were last year fined or imprisoned for breaches of the sumptuary laws as to clothing, smoking, playing at games, &c." (57)

With regard to the prohibition upon making *ngatu*, Gordon said,

> "It is Mr. Baker who makes the laws, and this insisting on the adoption of European clothes is enforced by heavy penalties".

Gordon also commented on Baker's extravagance in building a new girls' college for the Mission, "a huge, unfinished building, with three towers, built round a quadrangle".(58)

In 1879 the highly unpopular sumptuary laws were either repealed or greatly modified. The laws against *ngatu* making, except in large towns, were repealed. The prohibition against women smoking was removed, except for persons under sixteen years of age and child-bearing women. The wearing of shirts and

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May 1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which becomes progressively more complex.

457 179 For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with—and perhaps only after—several basic components of the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.[10] A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in [439] [228] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66 tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to 457 179 228 648 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-year program funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

457 648 The UNDP (along with the International Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the training session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

167 464 [457] [179] Development of tourism design must go hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unemployment, the increasing influence of Western values, and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga.

167 464 179 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: private and government building in Tonga has fallen behind as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is lying unused. One government building project lost two-thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade is also true for the private farmer:

167 464 179 241 > If the drain of laborers to New Zealand goes unchecked, a crisis could develop in Tonga's agriculture. This warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand—even temporarily—was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

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> simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B

As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] C (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] E While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F

Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

A A, B A, C A, D A, E A, F A [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 these conditions may be found in many parts of the world such as the islands which dot the oceans. One such microcosmic situation may be observed in the Kingdom of Tonga, which is located as an island chain in the Southwest Pacific Ocean. (Note general mapping of 161 Tonga, Figure 4, Appendix A.)A Population growth and diminishing 178 agricultural food production, per capita, as a ratio to total popu- 171 lation, are as serious a threat to national stability in Tonga, as 433 in the more publicized nations of the world. (The reader, if not 000 familiar with the more basic geographic considerations regarding Tonga, may, at this point, wish to review Appendix A.)B

161 Even though these conditions exist in Tonga, as well as in 178 other populated island groups, it must be understood that while many 171 of the Pacific islands are now facing a land-population growth cri- 174 sis, only recently have these conditions arisen. Anthropological data indicate that historically the Pacific Basin is a region of relatively recent human settlement (Harris 1966, p. 13). In the case of Polynesia, Tonga, Samoa and the Society Islands formed the core from which the population of other island groups originated (Emory 1974, pp. 732-745). The Tongas were settled probably no 174 earlier than 1100 B.C. The significance of this situation is that 167 when religious quarrels, conditions of war, or overpopulation arose, groups of island people migrated to other islands in, seemingly, an 161 ocean of innumerable islands (Harris 1966, p. 14). However, in the 167 twentieth century, uninhabited island groups are no longer to be found and since 1945, overpopulation has become a growing force.

A[See Category 102, pp. 160-164--Analyst.]
B[See various 13 Categories, pp. 157-170--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

with little probability of relief. Such is the case in Tonga at the present.

With a population exceeding 95,000 scattered over 288 square miles, Tonga contains areas of rural population density in excess of 600 per square mile. Coupled with a resource base inadequate for significant industrial development, and an economy which is at present entirely dependent upon agriculture, Tonga often resembles many nations of the "underdeveloped world." However, because of a growing relationship with the British Commonwealth, a Western form of government, and a 95 percent literate population, Tonga resembles many nations of the "developed world." Characteristics of both "worlds" are found scattered over the 150 islands that comprise the nation. Therefore, here is a laboratory situation in which to study the critical issue of population growth and urbanization versus food production.

The Tongan population-agricultural imbalance may be reduced to a simple statement of conditions. Tongan population growth has in recent years stood at over 3.5 percent per year and is today among the highest of the Pacific islands. (Other island groups of the region having had high growth rates include Fiji with 3.5 percent, Samoa with 3.8 percent, and Tahiti with 3.6 percent.) Conditions in Tonga, as evidenced by the present population growth rate, indicate that the present population of 95,000 will more than double by 1990. News items from Tonga predict that this number will overwhelm the food production capacity of the land ("There's Not Enough Land . . .," 1967, p. 37). Such conditions are not yet so

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171 critical in other Polynesian island groups. In the case of Fiji, the issue is not one of overpopulation as much as land distribution among racial elements of the population (Mohan 1961). In Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, population expansion is drawn off by migration to New Zealand (Curson 1973). In American Samoa, population expansion is released to the American West Coast and Hawaii.

• 167 Tonga, having had a long history of political independence, has no such outlet for her growing population. Migration has not played a significant role in the population characteristics of Tonga in the past several decades. (This refers only to movements of population out of the national limits of Tonga in a permanent [166] sense. Internal migration, i.e., rural to urban, is a significant consideration and will be treated in some depth within this research.)

167 Presently, the only notable migratory trend is in temporary Tongan
464 labor movements to Australia, New Zealand and nearby islands, in search of employment. The majority of these laborers return to Tonga within a year and, therefore, do not provide an effective or
464 permanent outlet for Tongan population (Clark 1974). However, of
434 significance is the additional capital and purchasing power enjoyed by this labor group, upon their return to Tonga.

000 Eliminating the probability of large scale migration, Tonga is faced with three basic alternatives in the foreseeable future: (1) establish and maintain a population control program which will stabilize the expanding population at a level capable of being sustained by Tongan agriculture and the limited national resource base; (2) support the growing national population through an

609 "Supply" (1822), and "Rambler" (1824) (Wood 1932, p. 34). Although the authenticity of these stories may be questioned, they effectively portrayed Tonga as an extremely inhospitable landing for European ships.

648 Following the civil war period, the newly formed Tongan nation successfully maintained its independent status, despite the fact that other Pacific territories became European colonies or possessions. Prior to 1900, various treaties were signed with France, Germany, the United States, and Britain. The British treaty of 1900 designated Britain as the Protecting Power of Tonga, and reconfirmed Tongan independence. This treaty, in effect from 1900 to 1970, insured Tongan independence and shielded the islands from any substantial alien influences.

167 At no time has Tonga experienced large scale influxes of alien population, such as the introduction of alien labor into 144 Fiji, or the Anglo annexation of Eastern Samoa. This has allowed the maintenance of a nearly pure racial complexion in Tonga, with only a very minimum alien entry.

162 A second significant feature of the Tongan population composition is the age structure. This factor is particularly important in terms of projected population growth rate, as well as to 162 future agricultural, urban, and economic planning. An examination 161 of the 1956 and 1966 censuses reveals a significant expansion of the population percentages within the young age groups (Table 3). For example, the pre-fertility age group, ages 0 to 14, increased from 43.9 percent of the total population in 1956, to 46.1 percent in

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168 areas, suah as 'Eua, no significant difference in the proportion
842 of acceptance was evidenced. Nor were significant variations of acceptance noted between rural and urban areas.

Examination of interview responses tends to indicate that the major factor determining acceptance or rejection of a family planning program is based in economics. It was found that the average Tongan, even when knowledgeable of the population issue, was more concerned with his own cost of living, school fees, and social expenses, than with overcrowding in his village or nation. Recognition of the possibility of improving family living standards by the reduction of offspring was the major motivation for acceptance of family planning. It is argued that with current trends toward increased tourism, the economic incentive for family planning may be removed. However, fewer than one percent of the total population would benefit monetarily from these changes. Therefore, it apears that the major incentive to acceptance of planning, the possibility of improving economic status, will continue to be influential.

166 The possibility of improved economic status also is the driving force behind population migrations in modern Tonga. This possibility, coupled with related social aspects (i.e., educational facilities, urban amenities) of certain areas over others, provides the major stimulus for movement within the nation.

167 Tongans have, for centuries, been known as a regionally mobile population. However, while movements of population out of the islands were frequent, seldom were they permanent. For example,

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167 Tongan sovereignty was, at one time, established in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma and Uvea to facilitate collection of tribute (Gifford 1929, p. 15). Control was also extended to Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellis Islands, Niue, and the Cook Islands, as a result of war. None of these cases represents part of a permanent migratory pattern.

(166) Migration in modern Tongan history has also been largely restricted to movement within the nation. In other words, the Tongans have never had a period of large scale permanent movement out of the nation. Those individuals now leaving for New Zealand, Australia, Samoa or the United States usually do so for higher wages in industry or service activities. These people, however, usually return to Tonga within a year. (These external migration figures 166 are not yet significant, although they are increasing.) Therefore, a consideration of migration in modern Tonga is most often concerned with rural to village or city movements, or inter-island movements.

The movement of people between the islands, particularly to Tongatapu, is reaching such a significant level that government regulation has been suggested (Fiefia 1968, p. 11). The increase in the proportion of the population living in Tongatapu, and the corresponding decrease in proportions living in other islands, has become the most noticeable trend in the population distribution of the Kingdom. This movement can be explained by better educational facilities, the availability of cash wages, and a force vaguely described as the centripetal pull of urban areas.